1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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766 [533] in part unintelligible to the uninitiated. At the end of each stanza was a chorus, where the priests, who during the stanza kept time with their rattles, now gave a peculiar twirl, and the lay singers joined in the chorus.

As the song approached its end, the leader was furnished with a big gourd of steaming chocolate, holding about a quart. As he finished, landing the dear departed safe beyond further troubles, he announced it with a most unearthly yell, in which all hands joined; he at the same time turning the chocolate over the fire, totally extinguishing it. The party at once arose and for a minute or two all was bustle and confusion of preparation.

●[767] [183] A person, whose office it is to handle the dead, endeavored to lower the bundle but it was a little out of his reach. Nobody else could touch it for fear of defiling himself. To lend a hand would have cost an Indian three days of purification. I drew my long knife, which all learn to carry in this country, as an actual necessity; and with a couple of blows cut the fastenings and brought the little cane rack, bundle of bones and all, tumbling into the outstretched arms of the official, with much more haste than solemnity. Nobody seemed shocked, and being a foreigner, and withal a medicine-man, who had made cures where their best doctors had failed, I was of course impregnable to *bu-ku-ru'*. The aforesaid official now lashed the package to its stick, and two long slender strings of loosely twisted cotton were tied to the head of the package.

[587] Santiago had had three wives. One of them had re-married to his successor; but there were two remaining in widowhood. A procession was formed. First came the priests with their rattles. Next the chorus singers with their drums. Next the corpse, borne by two men, and preceded by the two widows, each holding the end of one of the cotton strings, leading the dead, as it were, to his final resting-place. Next ourselves, as the most distinguished persons present, and escorted by the two chiefs. Behind us came the older men, and following them the usual rag, tag, and bob-tail of young men, women, boys, and persons of no account generally. Some of the boys however, true to boy nature, were as usual irrepressible, and instead of keeping decorously in place, skirmished ahead, and on the flanks of the procession, mounting stumps, logs, or other commanding points to take in the general effect of the pageant. As the procession filed out of the house, some old chicha jars [768] were carried out and ostentatiously broken; but I observed that nothing of real value was destroyed. As soon as the line got fairly under way, the priests struck up another song which was kept up until the procession halted.

Everybody had been on so long a debauch that it was decided to take a rest of three or four days before the party started off. But it was necessary that the bones should be removed from the house. A temporary ranch had therefore been built a few hundred yards distant; and to this the remains were carried and deposited until the bearers were in a fit condition to proceed.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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793 Cabecar he visited us twice, and on neither occasion did he speak, except when spoken to, unless it was to make some remark, in very few words, and in a low tone of voice, to some of his attendants. His dress consisted of a white shirt, not over clean, a woven cotton breech-cloth, a bright-red handkerchief, tied in a roll around his head, and a magnificent necklace [126] of four strands of large tiger's teeth. He sold me two of the strings for half-a-dollar, and I presented him with some trifles, among which was the rather suggestive article, a bar of soap. He accepted them without any acknowledgment. But then they don't know how to say, "thank you."

Next in importance are the *Tsu'-gurs*. These are the ordinary priests, 767 and their duties are confined to officiating at the feast for the dead. Like 793 the preceding, they are hereditary; only members of one or two families can become priests, and these seem to have all descended from a common ancestor. I have already described the performances of the *Tsu'-gur* at the death-feast of Santiago, and there is nothing to add in that connection. Other feasts only differ in the less degree of profusion and the shorter time they occupy. But there is one circumstance of which I have said little, and that has always seemed to me mysterious. Unfortunately, from no want of effort on my part, I was not successful in investigating this more thoroughly. The songs of these priests are in a language, dialect, 198 or jargon, whichever it may be called, in great part unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some words used are in the vernacular, but many of the nouns are peculiar. *Si-bu*, or God, has at least twenty names; many natural objects have names peculiar to the priests, and the difference is so great that not only I, with my imperfect knowledge of the language, but Mr. Lyon, who speaks it as well as an Indian, could not understand even the purport of the songs. These songs are taught by rote to the young candidates to the priesthood, and are always rehearsed by the priests apart, before being sung. I made several efforts to obtain a vocabulary, but in each case was defeated, rather by the want of understanding on the part of the priest, than from any unwillingness to impart what they know. At last I made an agreement with the most intelligent and best informed of them. He was to visit me at a certain time and answer all my questions —for a consideration. But a severe attack of rheumatism prevented his coming and lost me the last chance. I have no theory to offer as to the origin of this singular fact. But two explanations however, seem possible. Either the whole thing is an invention, which I think hardly probable, or the system is an exotic, and the songs are in the original language of the missionary who introduced it. I can hardly express my regret at failing to obtain some clue to so interesting a problem.

Finally come the *Awas*, sorcerers, or doctors. This is an open profes- 756 sion, and since it requires but little preparation, gives certain privileges 791 and standing, and brings occasional emoluments, it is pretty numerously filled. The fellows are an arrant set of quacks, and I do not believe there is a single one who acts in good faith. Nevertheless, the people as a rule

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Gabb[8] speaks of three classes of shamans—the *usékara*, or "high priest"; the *tsúgur* (*tsuku*), who has charge of the ceremonies for the dead; and the *awa*, doctor or sorcerer, who cures diseases and controls the rain. He says that these latter treat diseases by making passes over the body of the patient with a sloth, opossum, alligator, or even a chicken. Their powers are based on the magic potency of calculi declared to be extracted from the viscera of animals. They bleed their patients with small lancets and give a counter irritant by beating the affected part with nettle leaves. 756 [791] [767]

Polygyny was practised in Gabb's time. The husband, he says, went to live with his father-in-law, or, if not, he bought his release with presents of live-stock in lieu of his services. 595 591

MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations.—Several native types of dwellings still survive among the Bribri. The more usual variety is sideless, rectangular or oval in ground-plan, with a convex or 342

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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763 It must be burnt to destroy the influence of evil spirits, and the place must be abandoned. After the death, a certain officer

764 called the *oko* is called in, he being the only

[767] person who can handle the dead without being defiled. The *oko* wraps the corpse in bark blankets and plantain leaves, and places with it the hammock in which the deceased breathed his last, as well as any other household objects associated with him at death. The *oko* then removes the body to a small platform in the woods, surrounded by a fence built to keep out animals, and roofed with thatch. Some of the natives also declared that this scaffold is densely covered with thorny vines, trained to grow over it. In this temporary tomb the body remains for five years, when it is removed to the communal house of the dead.

Quenching the Fire.—Nine days after the death, a ceremony called *Apagando el fuego*, or "Quenching the Fire," is held, which lasts only one night. The women of the family prepare chicha, cacao, and other materials for a feast, and the *tsúku*,

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see*
[856] Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
863 crawl and they are given anything they cry
for. It is interesting to note that habits in connection with excretion are taught practically from birth. The child is taken out of the house and held up while he does his needs. He is not allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or a father lie in a hammock with his small children beside him. Parents pay attention to personal details, such as wiping a child's nose or
264 washing its face. There are not, however, regular meal hours. One eats when there is food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes are taught to swim and help to make fires, using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when sitting on the low benches or on the ground before the hearth. At the age of seven, they begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt, using small arrows for training. When the adults are out in the fields or hunting, children up to ten years old stay at home to tend the fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no school and all lore is learned by word of mouth on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have some connection with the handling of the dead (*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line. Often they play with mud daubers' nests or similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1918, p. 20.

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however,
[178] that certain vestiges of traditional customs persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a
[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.**
764 There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one
[784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person
[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jəwá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *šurichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest-
[554] hood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or
[756] *ókuɲ* in Bribri and *kerí* in Cabécar. They are the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are
[825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

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767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *havas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact with the human hand. One of the tests is for 787 the novice to go with the teacher at three 767 o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. [262] He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were [775]

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrehué*, or *sinąbwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary;[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *sini*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənítswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéšuwək*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17-18. Could there be a connec-

767 764 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must [273] plant the maize to be used for the chicha at the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the [756] feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former [775] usage. Things must be prepared for the soul of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This [768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the [656] geographical location. Government and eccle- [797] siastical authorities have prohibited the fundamental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767] [533] tion between *sini* and *sinɓwak?* (*See* Social Organization.)

[110] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.

[111] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

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765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

[868] The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

[415] The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burio* fiber over the leaf.

[177] An old woman, dressed in machine-made material decorated with a striped design to resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong.

[852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burio* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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Cabecar

[P 34(1)]

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it [765] stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hrwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* [825] (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the world. The task of the Singer was performed [767] by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

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Bribri
Terraba

784 825 [779] [224] tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals have a plant name which is used when a hunt is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the protector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated with a distinct animal and is believed to be sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad. The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* Death) are the only persons who can touch buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmbiwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

[776] 753 825 [776] [756] 784 825 614 262 [767] [775]

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 726 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.